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Manifesta 11 public survey – Final report

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Manifesta 11 public survey – Final report

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1. Introduction

Every two years, Manifesta arrives to a new host city, exploring the genius loci, and serves as a think-tank re-identifying how Europeans live, work, and think. Every two years, Manifesta develops a new artistic concept, sets up a legal body and a team, and introduces a new cultural brand to local audiences. This makes it a nomadic event with a unique format, thus challenging for comparative analysis and visitor profile benchmarking with other cultural institutions or events. Thus, we do not compare Manifesta 11 to one type of biennial, but locate its profile within the broader range of all types of (contemporary) art exhibitions, from galleries and museums to international biennials tied to a certain place.

The eleventh edition of Manifesta took place from June 11th to September 19th 2016 in the city of Zurich, Switzerland. Zurich offers an extremely wide and diverse cultural program relative to the size of its population, with nearly 50 museums and 100 art galleries in a city of 400,000 people. For many years, Zurich has been at the top of international rankings measuring inhabitants' satisfaction with the cultural facilities of their city. Manifesta 11's mission and aim in Zurich was to come up with new ways and tools with which to generate a more diverse audience for contemporary culture through an outreach, performative, educational, and synergetic biennial program.

The Institute of Sociology at the University of Zurich was commissioned to conduct an independent public survey extensively researching the profile of Manifesta 11's audiences and their experience with the biennial, and benchmarking these results.

2. Aims of the report

Over almost the entire period of the Manifesta 11 biennial in Zurich (not the first two weeks), a team of sociologists from the Institute of Sociology conducted an audience survey at the three main locations of the exhibition (Löwenbrau-Kunst, Helmhaus, Pavillon of Reflections). By collecting data on Manifesta 11 visitors, they sought to answer three main questions, which are based on the missions and aims of Manifesta 11:

(1) *Who visited Manifesta 11 and how did people hear about Manifesta 11?*

Manifesta 11 aimed at engaging a wide and sustainable audience for contemporary culture, thus it is important to know how wide the actual Manifesta 11 audience was in terms of its sociodemographic composition and how this audience was reached by different marketing strategies.

(2) *What is the cultural impact of Manifesta 11?*

Did the biennial increase cultural and social awareness among the audience by mobilizing communities of a wide spectrum and engaging them with the biennial?

(3) *What is the economic impact of Manifesta 11?*

How many expenses did Manifesta 11 visitors generate in Zurich?

These three questions are based on the main objectives of Manifesta 11 and the mission of Manifesta 11's Department of Communication, as stated in the Manifesta 11 Final Report Summary (pages 5 and 15). However, not all of the objectives put forward in the summary can be evaluated by an audience survey (e.g. the awareness of Manifesta 11 among the entire Swiss population or the collaboration with cultural institutions in Zurich). Therefore, the aim of the report at hand is to answer those questions which can be examined with information generated in the audience survey, i.e. those which are consolidated under the three aforementioned headings.

In section 4, we briefly explain the main methods of the survey, its advantages and its limitations. In section 5 we present the main results of the survey with regard to the three questions. Section 6 summarizes our results, while section 3 presents the main findings in a very condensed form. In all sections we mainly present statistical data from the survey, compare them – if possible – with data from other cultural events or from general population

surveys, and, finally, interpret them in terms of established theories and empirical findings in the sociology of arts audiences.

2.1. Benchmarking the results

Our presentation of the results of Manifesta 11's public survey in the following sections will also include comparisons to results from other studies on international art events or to general information about specific population segments. This is done in order to benchmark and thus better evaluate the results. However, there is no single study or source of information serving as basis of comparison for all of the many results gathered in the context of Manifesta 11 Zurich. The most important reason why there is no single basis of comparison is rooted in Manifesta's very specific character as a nomadic contemporary art biennial (in contrast to e.g. documenta in Kassel or the biennial in Venice). There is, internationally and in Zurich, just no other art event with a comparable concept (hosted by another city every two years, changing themes, changing curators). Hence, we will examine our findings in a broader context of studies dealing with population distribution, social structures, cultural consumption, and art reception. Here, we include information on the whole range of art exhibitions, from gallery and museum exhibitions, over art fairs to international art exhibitions, like the biennials. Benchmarking our results with a broad set of scientific theories and empirical studies thus seems to be the most reliable strategy. This is done based on meta-analyses of visitor surveys (Rössel et al. 2005) and on recent literature reviews (Wegner 2016). Thus, Manifesta's profile is located within the broad range of audience studies of quite different forms of arts events both national and international. When we do a comparison to a specific type of arts exhibition (arts fair, art museums, international art biennial), we indicate this in the text.

3. Summary of main findings

- Manifesta 11 attracted a majority of persons not professionally connected with art (55 %), the other 45% of visitors work in some capacity in the art field, but only 21 % of all visitors were art professionals in a narrow sense. Besides, Manifesta 11 attracted slightly more women (51 %) than men (46 %), and many young visitors (41 % younger than 35).
- There was a well-balanced mixture of Swiss (60 %) and international (40 %) visitors. Swiss visitors were mainly from the city of Zurich (28 %), but also other parts of the canton of Zurich (14 %) and other cantons of Switzerland (18 %). International visitors came mainly from Germany, Italy, Austria, the Netherlands, and the Anglo-Saxon countries (USA, UK, Australia).
- Manifesta 11 was able to attract newcomers to contemporary art: 8 % of visitors had not seen a contemporary art show before. These newcomers are much younger than the general Manifesta 11 audience (among newcomers 61 % are younger than 35). In other studies, the percentage of newcomers was much lower. In a huge study of different museums only 7 % went only once a year to a museum at the most (Wegner 2016: 266). All other survey participants were more frequent visitors.
- Most visitors (60 %) evaluated Manifesta 11 very positively in general. They especially found it to be an internationally significant place to discover new artists (67 %) and to engage with thought-provoking artworks (61 %). Most of those who took part in a guided tour (73 %) evaluated these tours as very good or good.
- The Pavillon of Reflections successfully made contemporary art and Manifesta 11 accessible to a wide audience, with the ArtDocs films offering an accessible way of understanding the process of creating contemporary art. This is reflected in a different profile of Pavillon visitors compared to the general Manifesta 11 audience: 72 % were not professionally connected to the art field, and 11 % had not been to a contemporary art show before.
- Most external visitors (34 % of all visitors) came to Zurich specifically because of Manifesta 11. The most important reason for visiting Manifesta 11 was interest in art (81 %), the city of Zurich as a tourist destination was the least important reason (34 %). Hence, Manifesta 11 itself is a big tourist attraction among art museums and art exhibitions. Among Swiss visitors only 35 % were familiar with Manifesta before it came to Zurich.
- Manifesta 11 visitors (Swiss and international) spent a total of 17.3 million Swiss francs during their stay in the Zurich region. The average duration of stays for external visitors was 3 days and 2 nights in the Zurich region. Together with investments in local economies of the amount of 3.9 million Swiss francs, the overall direct return on investment of Manifesta 11 is 21.2 million Swiss francs, yielding an economic multiplier of 4.06.

4. Methods

The survey was conducted as an on-site online survey. This had the advantage of making the survey easily available in both German and English. Furthermore, the amount of work by entering data manually and thus the overall cost of the survey could be drastically reduced. The on-site online questionnaire was self-administered; three tablet computers were provided at each interview location. The tablets were looked after by interviewers, who were trained before entering the field.

The two main aims of an audience survey are usually to reach a large enough sample size and to achieve something close to “representativeness”. In order to obtain a satisfactory sample size, we trained the interviewers to actively approach the visitors without appearing to interrupt their visit or appearing rude. Furthermore, as an incentive to participate we offered the chance to win one of ten Manifesta 11 catalogues. All in all, we achieved a very good sample size, with a total of 1,241 interviewees starting the interview.

The usual strategy used to ensure a sample is representative is to draw it in a random manner. This is the only way to reach statistically sound conclusions. We implemented this by training the interviewers to approach the visitors according to a simple counting rule (if a tablet computer is unoccupied, take the third cluster [cluster because visitors sometimes visit the exhibition in groups] of visitors and approach them). When the number of visitors was low, we adjusted the counting rule to every second or even to every cluster. Thus, there might be a slight oversampling of visitors attending the exhibition on rather quiet days. However, this should not impair the overall representativeness of the sample.

In addition to the on-site online survey, visitors were also given the opportunity to fill in the questionnaire at home. Those visitors who refused to fill in the questionnaire on site received a flyer with all the necessary information. 68 of all 1,241 questionnaires were started at home. Furthermore, we sent an email to all guests on the opening days inviting them to participate in the online survey. 136 persons took advantage of this opportunity. Of all 1,241 participants who started the online questionnaire, 1,125 completed it, giving a completion rate of 90.7 % and a dropout rate of 9.3 %. This is an excellent completion rate. Given the fact that the questionnaire was rather long for an audience survey (12 pages), this is more than satisfactory.

However, overall the interviewers were less successful in motivating visitors to participate in the survey. Roughly 10 % of visitors approached, agreed to participate in the on-site online survey. The most frequent reason for refusal was pressure of time. Many visitors wanted to catch the bus or the tram to reach another location of Manifesta 11. This is a general

disadvantage of audience surveys at art exhibitions compared to other cultural events with fixed time schedules such as movie screenings, operas or theatres. Under the latter circumstances the audience is present at a certain time and often there is even a break which can be used to conduct the interviews.

Overall, the survey yielded a very good sample size and should be representative of the audience structure. In order to answer the three questions mentioned in the introduction we relied on survey questions (1) asking for the socio-demographic and cultural profile of the audience. Furthermore, we inquired about the success of the marketing strategies. To do this we could rely on standard sociological questions regarding the socio-demographic profile and the marketing strategies. For the cultural profile, we focused on the cultural participation and cultural tastes of respondents in order to be able to compare them with the general Swiss population. Here, we rely on recent attempts in cultural sociology to measure the cultural openness and cultural omnivorousness of people in Western societies.

Regarding question (2) we made use of established scales to measure the cultural impact of artistic events on their attendants (developed e.g. by Behne (1986) and Hanquinet et al. (2014)). Finally, with regard to question (3) we followed the standard procedure to measure economic impact (Kyrer 1987).

As a strategy to gather more detailed and nuanced information on some issues we conducted two focus group discussions. These group discussions were guided by two interviewers each. To have some variability in the answers and arguments, participants of the focus group discussions were selected according to their affinity with art. One group of discussants was more closely linked to art, some of them even having a professional interest in art. In contrast, the second group of discussants was composed of persons with a clearly looser connection to art. Thus we were able to gather information from rather diverse groups.

5. Empirical results

5.1. Audience Composition and Marketing

5.1.1. Who was reached?

To start our discussion of the social and cultural profile of the Manifesta 11 audience we begin with some very basic demographic information. To put this information in context, we compare the demographics with data from other studies as explained in section 2.1. For example, Rössel et al. (2005; also see Rössel 2009; Wegner 2016) collected information on more than fifty audience surveys in German-speaking countries. Hence we are able to compare our results with a broad sample of other audience surveys in different art fields and locations.

Regarding age, we find a mean age of 41 among Manifesta 11 visitors, which is more or less identical with what can be found in many other audience surveys (Rössel et al. 2005). However, the time trend shows a process of aging of the arts audience (Rössel et al. 2005, Wegner 2016). Thus, compared to the current situation, the Manifesta 11 audience is younger than the usual arts audience. The distribution in table 1 clearly indicates that persons in the active age groups are strongly overrepresented in contrast to the general population – especially those between 24 and 44 – whereas older people are under-represented. However, this is typical for most arts events. The low percentage of children and adolescents below 15 may be an artifact, because even if school classes visit such events, it is usually extremely difficult to have them participate in interviews (Wegner 2016: 262).

The distribution of gender does not differ greatly from other art exhibitions. Usually, females are slightly overrepresented at most cultural events; at art exhibitions they sometimes approach percentages above 55 or even 60 %. Thus, Manifesta 11 was successful in reaching a rather even gender distribution among its audience. One remark on the 2.4 % of “other” genders: it has become standard practice to include such a category in surveys. However, it is not easy to interpret the results in a meaningful way. Depending on the survey, one usually finds 1 to 5 % of people checking the box for “others”. Thus, our result is completely in line with what one finds in other surveys.

With regard to marital status, we find a surprisingly low percentage of married persons and a rather high figure of people in a long-term relationship. This is surprising, since marriage rates in Switzerland are still rather high and most couples in Switzerland usually marry if they have children (BfS 2009). However, this might be explained by the relatively high number of people in adolescence and post-adolescence among the visitors. Furthermore, as we will discuss later, the audience has a rather academic profile. This may reduce the number of

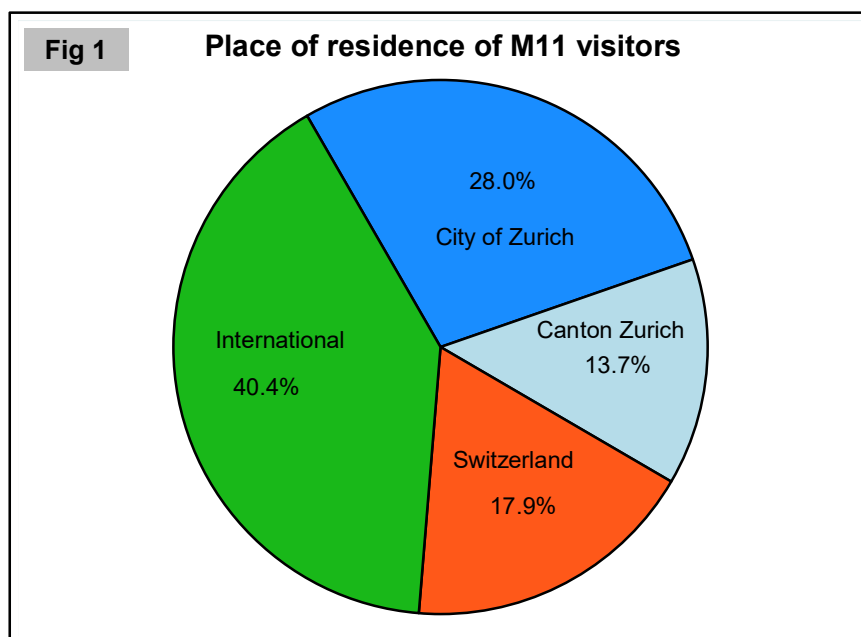
Tab 1 Demographic information

	%
Age groups¹ (in years)	
0–14	0.88
15–24	15.02
25–34	25.53
35–44	17.67
45–54	17.14
55–64	15.02
65–74	7.51
75+	1.24
Gender	
Male	46.10
Female	51.51
Other	2.39
Marital status	
Married / remarried	30.26
Long-term relationship	28.71
Single	30.36
Divorced (no relationship)	4.01
Separated (no relationship)	1.82
Widowed (no relationship)	0.91
Other	3.92

¹ Average age: 41.3 years

married persons due to the higher probability of academics starting families and marrying later in life.

Having discussed the basic demographic features, we now take a closer look at the Manifesta 11 audience's regional origins. Figure 1 shows that the audience's origin in terms of current place of residence is well-balanced. Manifesta 11 drew its visitors from the local population, i.e. the city of Zurich and the surrounding canton; the local population was thus clearly involved in the exhibition, which was one of the event's main objectives. At the same time, about 18 % of visitors were from the rest of Switzerland and 40 % were from abroad, demonstrating that Manifesta 11 was visible both nationally and internationally. Compared to famous musical festivals or museums in tourist hot-spots (such as museums in Berlin, where there is a rich tradition of audience surveys), the percentage of non-local visitors is not at the upper end of the distribution (reaching more than 80 % for some musical festivals or for museums in Berlin). But it is also far above the lower end, especially for international visitors



(e. g. for museums in non-tourist regions and even for some international art festivals like Dokumenta) (Pröbstle 2016). Thus, the distribution of regional origins indicates that the Manifesta 11 was very successful in both engaging local visitors and attracting national and international audiences.

Regarding the regional origin within Switzerland, table 2 shows that the national audience was mainly composed of residents of bordering cantons and cantons with urban centers, like Berne and Basel. This is completely in line with what is generally known about the regional composition of arts audiences, where usually a mixture of spatial propinquity and urbanity are relevant factors.

In table 3 we find the country of origin of international visitors. Germany is obviously the most important country in this regard, providing more than a quarter of all international visitors. This can be explained by the fact that the canton of Zurich borders Germany and that cultural events in German-speaking Switzerland generally attract interest from Germany (also in the German media) and vice versa. Regarding the other neighboring countries, Italy and especially Austria stand out, whereas France is of much less importance. Apart from the neighboring countries, visitors came from a very diverse array of different countries, with a sizable number coming from the Anglo-Saxon countries (USA, UK, Australia). But visitors from other countries around the entire globe were also present, underlining the fact that Manifesta 11 was internationally received and a focus of international attention.

Tab 2 Canton of residence of Swiss visitors
(59.6% of all visitors)

	%
Zürich / Zurich	71.72
Aargau	5.31
Bern / Berne	3.91
St.Gallen	3.59
Luzern / Lucerne	2.03
Vaud / Waadt	2.03
Basel-Stadt	1.56
Genève / Geneva / Genf	1.41
Basel-Land	1.25
Zug	1.25
Others *	5.94

** All cantons with relative frequency lower than 1%.*

The broad outreach of Manifesta 11 to different countries around the world is also underlined in table 4, indicating the distribution of citizenship. Whereas nearly 60 % of visitors come from Switzerland, only 45 % hold a Swiss passport. This means that the foreign population in Switzerland (nearly 25 % of the resident population) was also well represented at Manifesta 11, thus adding to its international impact.

Tab 3 Country of residence of international visitors
(40.4% of all visitors)

	%
Germany	28.38
Italy	8.33
Great Britain	7.43
United States (USA)	7.43
Netherlands	7.21
Austria	6.53
France	2.93
Australia	2.48
Belgium	2.48
China	2.03
Spain	2.03
Japan	1.58
Estonia	1.35
Israel	1.13
Others *	18.69

** All countries with relative frequency lower than 1%.*

Tab 4 Citizenship
(all visitors)

	%
Switzerland	45.08
Germany	16.76
Italy	5.10
United States (USA)	4.01
Netherlands	3.64
Austria	2.73
Great Britain	2.64
France	2.09
Spain	1.09
Australia	1.00
China	1.00
Others *	14.85

** All countries with relative frequency lower than 1%.*

In our next step we focus on the social profile of Manifesta 11 visitors, looking at education, income, and occupation. Table 5 clearly conveys the impression of an extremely socially skewed distribution. Art exhibitions are usually very elite in their educational profile, compared, for instance, to history museums or science centers. However, usually the share of academically trained visitors is around or slightly above 50 %. Thus, with roughly 70 % of academic visitors, the social profile of Manifesta 11 visitors is quite exclusive, even compared to other audiences in art museums, classical concerts, and operas. Moreover, the share of academically trained persons in the Swiss population is rather low; only 15 % of the population have an academic degree of any kind. Furthermore, the information in table 5 shows that the different academic disciplines are not evenly represented. The largest share of academics in the audience has studied disciplines in the humanities, social sciences, and the arts. However, this is typical for art exhibitions. Academics from the fields of science and engineering are much better represented in the audiences of natural history, science, and history museums.

In the sociology of art, education is often taken as the most important predictor of attendance at art museums. In particular, the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1984) has shown that higher education predicts attendance at art museums and has developed some ideas to explain this finding. His main idea is that artistic works and the context of museums do not speak for themselves but have to be decoded by art consumers in order to have a satisfactory or even

Tab 5 Educational degree

	%
Still at school	5.79
Finished school without qualification	0.56
Compulsory schooling / lower secondary	1.49
Basic vocational training	4.86
Higher vocational training	7.38
Upper secondary (Swiss Matura)	10.55
University (science/engineering)	19.51
University (humanities/social sciences)	23.34
University (art/cultural studies)	26.52

joyful experience. However, the knowledge and information required to decode artistic works (which Bourdieu calls cultural capital) usually comes with education. And, as table 5 underlines, it comes especially with academic education in the humanities, the arts and the social sciences. These fields are in themselves related to the arts and thus provide the necessary cultural capital for the interpretation of artworks and their museal surroundings.

Bourdieu and several studies based on his work have shown that a lack of cultural capital leads art consumers to prefer artworks representing objects that are beautiful in themselves, like sunsets, beautiful landscapes, beautiful people, or flowers (Bourdieu calls this “substantive taste”). These people usually don’t like art representing objects that are usually considered not beautiful or even ugly, like a cabbage, an old person’s hands or work-related scenes. Furthermore, a lack of cultural capital results in incomprehension of formal, abstract, and experimental approaches to artistic content. Yet the lack of cultural capital is not only relevant for the type of art preferred, but also for the museal context of art exhibitions. Many studies have shown that persons with a rather low level of cultural capital perceive the museal context of art exhibitions as rather daunting, due to its sterile atmosphere (white cube), the silence, the lack of information, and the rather boring presentation of artworks (compared for example to science centers) (Rössel 2009).

This is only a very brief sketch of Bourdieu’s theory, but it may explain the rather academic composition of Manifesta 11’s audience. As a biennial of contemporary art, exhibiting pieces which are strongly on the experimental/formal side and do not cater to the substantive taste of persons with a low level of cultural capital, it was not easy or indeed possible to reach far beyond the academic public. The difficulty of decoding the artworks and Manifesta 11’s strong intellectual bent was mentioned in the focus group discussions even by those more

familiar with (contemporary) art. However, almost all discussants in both focus groups very much appreciated the movies shown at the Pavillon of Reflections as a low-level gateway to contemporary art. Some even argued that these movies motivated a deeper examination of the works shown at Manifesta 11.

Since education is considered to be the most important predictor of attendance at art exhibitions, other indicators of social position, such as income and occupation, can be discussed much more briefly. Table 6 shows that the income distribution is not as elite as the distribution of academic degrees in the audience. Compared to data from the Swiss Household Panel (SHP), the best available, representative survey of the Swiss population, the lower income categories contain a higher proportion of people than the general population in Switzerland and the higher income categories contain a lower share. This is rather typical for arts audiences, as they combine a rather academic profile with a low income profile (or economic capital in Bourdieu's terms). The latter is different at art events where objects are bought and sold, such as art fairs, art galleries, and art clubs (Rössel 2009). There, the usual audience is rich in both economic and cultural capital. One explanation for this combination of an extremely high level of cultural capital and a rather moderate level of economic capital can be sought in the academic disciplines most widely represented in the audience. These are not disciplines which lead to high-paying executive or managerial jobs. Furthermore, the rather large share of foreign visitors decreases the mean income even more, since salaries in most surrounding countries are lower than in Switzerland. Finally, the rather large group of students may depress the income distribution.

Tab 6 Annual gross income
(of household, in CHF)

	%
20,000 or less	16.77
20,001 to 40,000	12.55
40,001 to 60,000	10.34
60,001 to 80,000	12.13
80,001 to 100,000	11.29
100,001 to 120,000	9.28
120,001 to 140,000	5.80
140,001 to 160,000	5.38
160,001 to 180,000	3.69
180,001 to 200,000	3.48
200,001 or more	9.28

Regarding table 7, the most prominent aspect is the rather high percentage of students compared to the general population. However, this is completely in line with other studies of arts audiences. The bottom part of table 7 is more noteworthy, because only a third of the employed respondents work in jobs without management roles, thus reflecting the rather high level of education among the audience. What is even more striking is the fact that nearly a quarter is self-employed, which is clearly more than in the general population and in most other studies of arts audiences. (Usually around 10 to 15 % are self-employed, in Switzerland around 15 %) This could be due to the high proportion of people working in the arts in the audience. This group is often self-employed.

In table 8 we classified the actual professions of visitors (full list of professions in the appendix) to provide a nuanced picture. The information in table 8 mainly reflects the educational structure of the audience, with a huge number of people working in the arts, culture, design, teaching, and research. In contrast, the spheres of business, engineering, and health have a much lower representation among the Manifesta 11 audience. This too, may be explained by Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital, which is more closely linked to study programs in the humanities, arts and social sciences.

Tab 7 Work situation and occupational status

	%
Work situation	
Full-time employment	38.98
Part-time employment	17.56
Student / apprentice	22.13
Homemaker	1.16
Retired	8.33
Unemployed / unable to work	2.42
Other	9.41
Occupational status	
Employee without management role	34.43
Employee with management role	26.56
Employee as member of executive	9.87
Self-employed	23.97
Unpaid professional activity	1.76
No professional activity	0.82
Other	2.59

Tab 8 Actual job / Profession*

	%
Art/culture	20.55
Architecture/design/graphic	11.13
Teacher/education/research/university	18.19
Doctor/medicine/health/care/pharma	6.28
Engineering/technology/IT	5.50
Business administration/marketing	8.51
Law/finance/consulting/real estate	8.90
Retail/trade/commerce/food	3.66
Hotel/restaurant/tourism	1.44
Journalism/PR	3.80
Public administration	3.01
Social work	3.93
Manufacturing/construction	1.83
Other	3.27

** A full list of professions can be found in the appendix*

Now we can focus on the group composition of people in the audience. Did they visit Manifesta 11 on their own or did friends, spouses, and other acquaintances accompany them? Table 9 clearly indicates that most visitors, nearly three quarters of them, arrived in the company of spouses, partners, friends and other acquaintances. However, even the share of 25 % coming on their own seems quite high. However, this is typical for arts audiences, where usually more visitors come on their own compared to other cultural events like concerts, theaters, cinema, or opera. Studies of other art exhibitions usually show shares of single visitors between 20 and 40 % (Wegner 2016). Thus, if anything, Manifesta 11 visitors are at the more sociable end of the distribution.

Tab 9 Accompanying persons*

	%
On my own	25.71
Spouse / partner	30.08
Friend(s)	31.45
Work colleague(s)	8.57
Classmate(s) / fellow student(s)	4.71
Own child(ren)	4.03
Parents / mother / father	4.28
Other relative(s) or acquaintance(s)	6.34

** Multiple answers possible*

Indicators in tables 10 to 12 aim to find out more about the cultural profile of the visitors. Table 10 shows the percentage of respondents indicating that they work in some capacity in the art field. This does not mean that they are art professionals in a narrow sense (like artists or gallerists), but that their profession is somehow connected with art. Hence, the information in table 10 is not directly comparable to table 8. Table 10 asked whether the respondents' work is connected with art, table 8 asked for their actual job. For this reason, table 10 shows a higher percentage of people working in the art field than table 8. The work of a university professor of art, for instance, is strongly connected to the art field, so she will have a "yes" in table 10. At the same time, this professor will not be counted as working in "Arts/culture" in table 8, but rather in the "Teacher/education/research/university" branch. As a result, we can say that there is a high percentage of visitors working in the art field (44.6 %), but a much lower percentage of visitors working as art professionals in a narrow sense (20.6 %). The high percentage of visitors with a professional connection to art is comparable to visitors to art fairs.

Tab 10 Working in the art field

	%
No	55.43
Yes	44.57

The information in table 10 is strongly underlined by what we find in table 11. There, we learn that the Manifesta 11 audience was not mainly recruited from persons completely unfamiliar with contemporary art. Only about eight percent indicated that they had never been to a contemporary art exhibition before. However, this is typical for the art museum audience, where usually around 7 % percent of visitors indicate that they visit museums only once a year (Wegner 2016). Thus, Manifesta's share of 8 % newcomers is higher than the share of newcomers found in other art exhibitions. Of course, this is very different in the general population: in Switzerland about 56 % of the general population say that they never visit an art exhibition; the figure stands at 44 % in the city of Zurich (Moeschler/Vanhooydonck 2011). Thus, even with the seemingly low number of non-frequent visitors in table 11, Manifesta 11 attracted – in comparative terms – a sizable group of newcomers (8.12 %, those who never visited a contemporary art show before). This might be correlated to the rather low mean age of the audience. Indeed, the mean age of newcomers is 33 years (the overall mean

Tab 11 Frequency of past visits to art museums/galleries

	%	
All kinds of art museums/galleries		
Never	4.49	} 95.51%
About once a year	9.25	
Every 6 months or so	14.11	
Every 3 months or so	20.58	
About once a month	28.30	
About once a week	15.18	
Several times a week	8.09	
Contemporary art museums/galleries		
Never	8.12	} 91.88%
About once a year	11.04	
Every 6 months or so	14.05	
Every 3 months or so	21.26	
About once a month	24.91	
About once a week	13.32	
Several times a week	7.30	

age is 41). Thus, the recruitment of new visitors took place mainly among younger people. On the other hand, we have a kind of “extreme” group frequenting contemporary art shows at least once a week. This clearly underlines that a huge share of the audience was closely linked to art, with nearly a third (table 8) being professionally active in the art and culture field.

In table 12 we compare the musical preferences of the Manifesta 11 audience with the musical preferences of the Swiss population (the latter data were gathered by the Swiss Federal Department of Statistics in 2008; see Moeschler/Vanhooydonck 2011). This may sound odd at first, but musical preferences have strong classificatory potential. Firstly, they are closely linked to indicators of social status and demographic variables, and are thus a signal of social position. No other variable measuring aesthetic taste is more closely linked to social variables, making musical taste a kind of litmus test for the social profile of the Manifesta 11 audience. Secondly, musical taste is even more indicative of the cultural profile of the audience. In older studies, contemporary arts audiences (and especially their academic members) usually demonstrated a preference for traditional highbrow culture including classical music, opera, and jazz. In more recent studies, it has been shown that visitors to cultural events like theaters, art exhibitions, museums, concerts and operas usually have an omnivorous profile, indicating a preference for a diverse set of musical genres and showing openness towards different types

of culture. This is exactly what we find among Manifesta 11 visitors. Table 12 indicates that respondents like a different set of musical styles compared to the general Swiss population. With jazz and opera we have two typical highbrow genres which are more popular with the Manifesta 11 audience compared to the general population. Furthermore, especially contemporary popular music like electronic styles and hip hop are rather popular with the respondents. On the other hand, there are two genres, which are more popular with the general population: international and Swiss traditional music. Thus, the musical profile of the Manifesta 11 visitors indicates a combination of traditional highbrow preferences and contemporary popular preferences, which is prototypical of cultural omnivores with open (democratic) tastes.

Tab 12 Musical taste profile

	<u>Manifesta 11</u>		<u>BFS 2008¹</u>	
	% like	rank	% like	rank
Pop / rock	73.79	1	40.40	1
Classical music (e.g. Mozart, Bach)	71.60	2	36.18	2
Jazz / improvisation	60.42	3	17.77	5
Hip hop / rap / soul / R&B	44.89	4	16.90	7
Electro / house / techno / dance	41.41	5	8.80	8
French / Italian / German chanson / singer-songwriters	41.28	6	23.14	4
Opera	37.82	7	6.67	9
International traditional music / world music	37.51	8	25.89	3
Operetta / musical / musical comedy	21.59	9	5.37	11
Heavy metal / hard rock	18.71	10	6.28	10
Swiss folk music / traditional music	11.23	11	17.38	6

¹ In the BFS2008 survey participants could choose only their three favorite genres, so percentages of "like" are generally lower. However, rank orders are comparable to the Manifesta 11 survey.

5.1.2. How were people reached?

Following this presentation of our findings on the social and cultural profile of the Manifesta 11 audience, we shall briefly discuss how people were reached and how they decided to visit Manifesta 11. Table 13 shows that more than 40 % of the visitors knew Manifesta before it came to Zurich. This is very similar to other important art museums and exhibitions (see for example the surveys by the Institut für Museumskunde in Berlin). This indicates, then, that Manifesta belongs to the group of artistic attractions that has established itself as widely known among the art-interested public. The latter, however, is different if we take Swiss and

international visitors into account separately. Among international visitors, more than half (54 %) knew Manifesta before it came to Zurich, whereas only 35 % of Swiss visitors knew Manifesta before. Hence, bringing Manifesta to Switzerland was an important step in order to make the biennial more familiar and visible in Europe.

Tab 13 Familiarity with Manifesta before it came to Zurich

	%
No	56.92
Yes	43.08

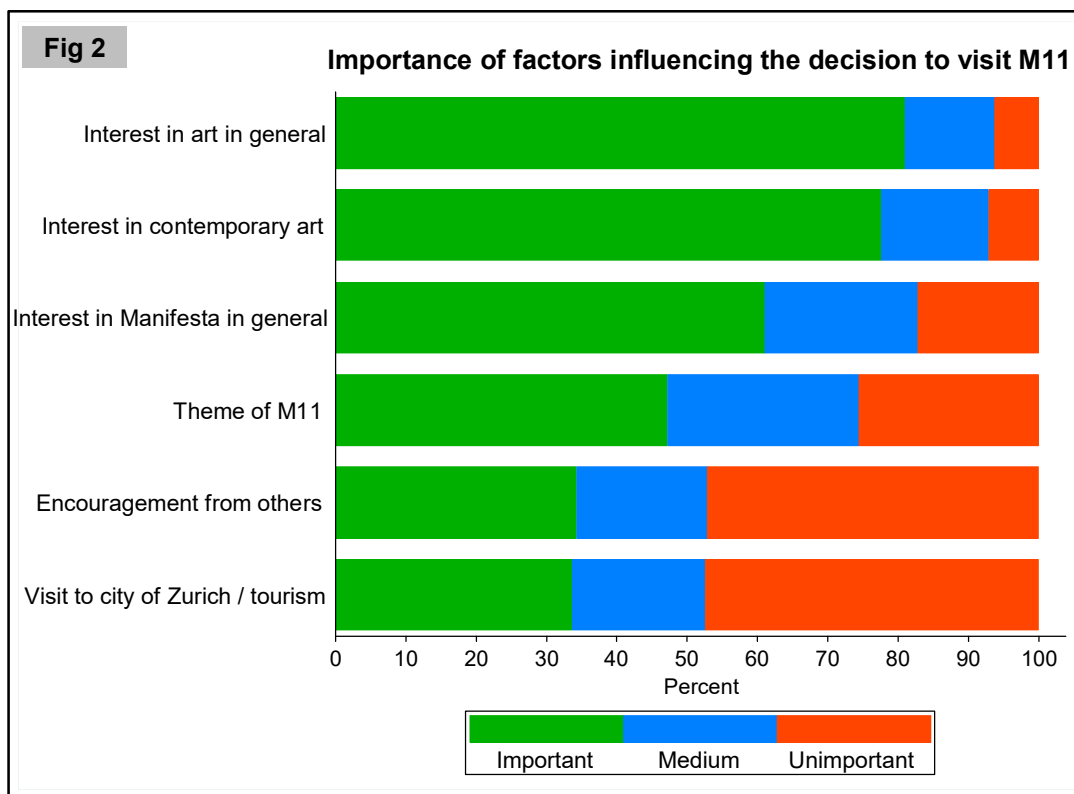
The fact that Manifesta is well known among the art-interested public is reflected in table 14: usually, friends, relatives, and acquaintances are a very important source of information and this is also true for Manifesta 11 visitors. Apart from that, the data show that the audience was reached via a broad array of traditional and non-traditional channels. This does not differ from other art events.

Tab 14 First-time source of information about M11

	%
Traditional media (newspaper, TV, radio, etc.)	24.30
New media (internet, social networks, blogs, etc.)	18.00
Advertising in other cultural institutions	3.19
Other advertising (posters, etc.)	7.20
Friends / relatives / acquaintances	30.44
Other	16.86

In the group discussions there were several remarks about the homepage. The commentaries were mostly negative, because the homepage was perceived as not very helpful, unclear, and lacking important information. However, as another medium of information the catalogue was received very positively by the group participants. Ticket prices were never mentioned as a possible obstacle to entering Manifesta 11 in any of the group discussions.

Figure 2 shows that the general interest in art (81.0 % say it was important) and contemporary art in particular (77.7 % say it was important) were more important motivating factors for visiting Manifesta 11 than more specific motives like the Manifesta 11 theme “What people



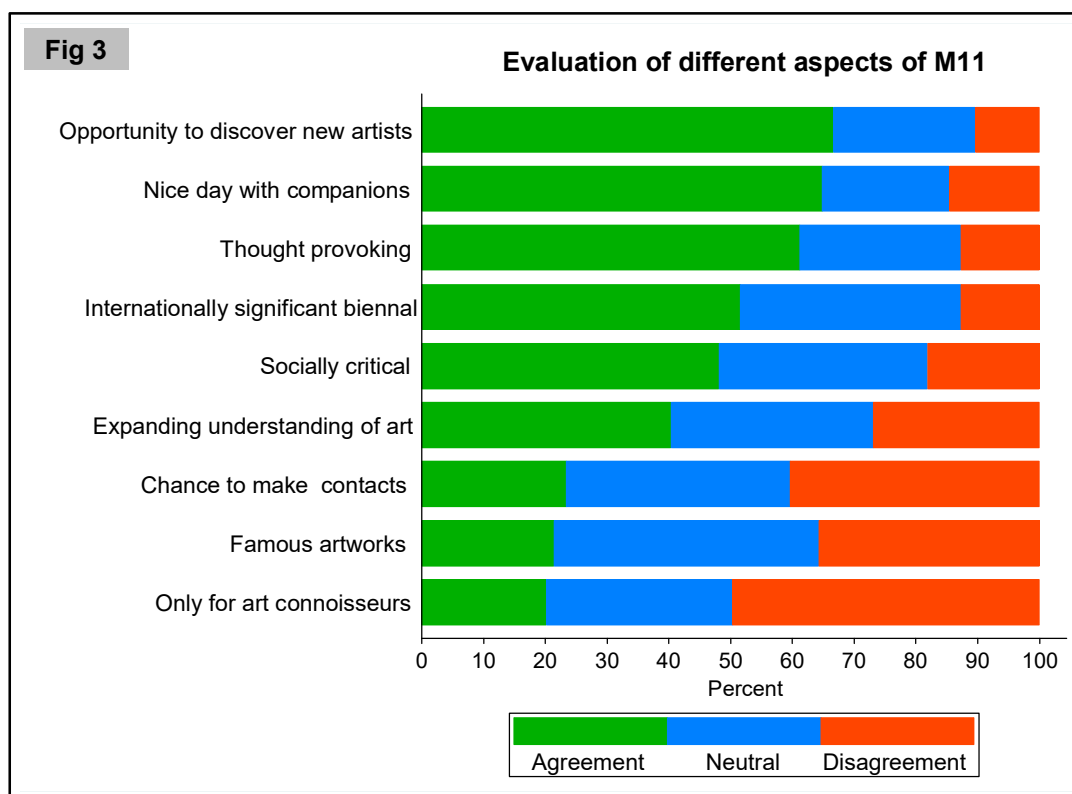
do for money” (47.3 % say it was important). However, it is difficult to put this result into perspective since large-scale comparative studies of attendance motivations are rather rare (Wegner 2016). Based on the little we know, Manifesta 11 visitors seem to be in line with audiences at other art exhibitions, since they usually have a motivation based on general aesthetic interests.

5.2. Cultural impact

5.2.1. Evaluations of Manifesta 11

Regarding the cultural impact of Manifesta 11 we first discuss some evaluations of the exhibition with regard to both cultural and practical criteria. Here we start with the information presented in figure 3, focusing mainly on artistic aspects of Manifesta 11. More than 50 % of visitors see Manifesta 11 as an opportunity to discover new artists, assess the presented art as thought-provoking, and value Manifesta as an important international biennial. This can be interpreted as evidence that Manifesta 11 reached its artistic goals among a huge part of the audience, engaging the visitors with new and reflexive art. Furthermore, more than 50 % also saw their visit at the Manifesta 11 as a nice day with

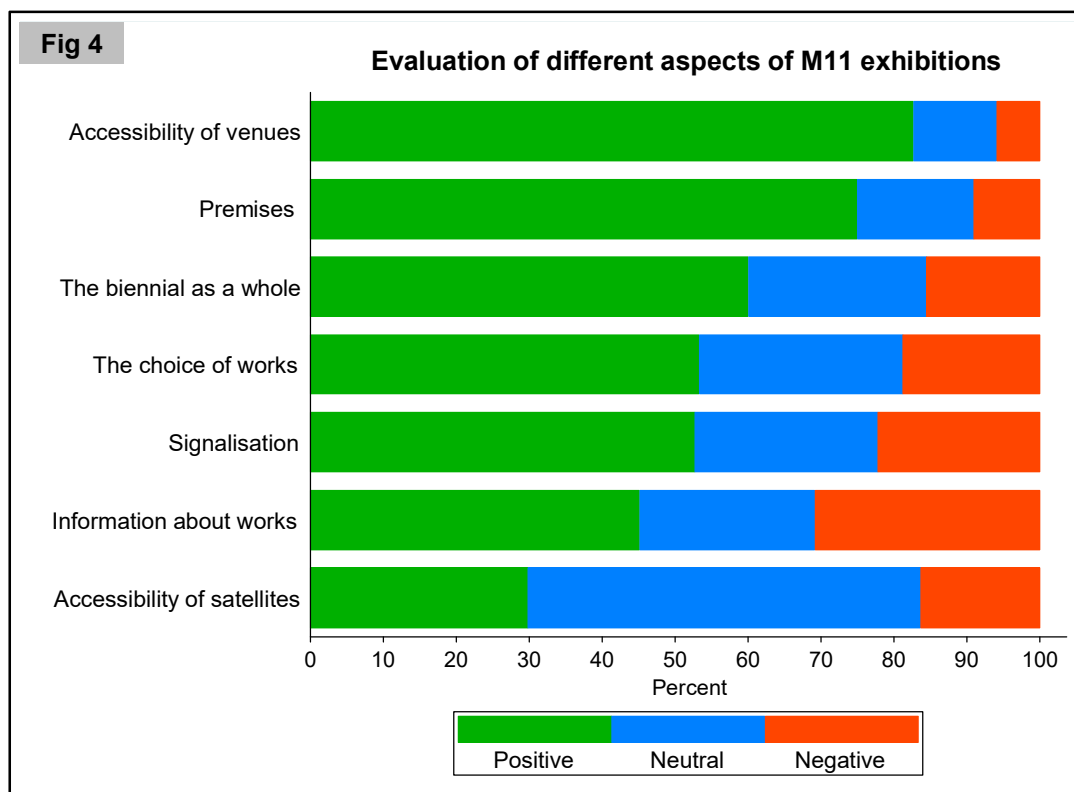
companions. Hence, Manifesta 11 was not only a successful art exhibition but was also perceived as a good opportunity to spend time with friends, partners, and acquaintances. However, the socially critical aspect of Manifesta 11 was perceived by less than half of the audience and even fewer visitors saw the exhibition as an opportunity to make new contacts or expand their view of art. Around 20 % of the visitors had the impression that the Manifesta 11 was an opportunity to see famous artworks, whereas 20 % were of the opinion that the exhibition was only for art lovers. Thus, all in all the data in this figure lead to a rather positive evaluation, since Manifesta 11's aim of engaging people with new and experimental forms of art was achieved for most of the audience. Only a small proportion of the audience saw Manifesta 11 as an exhibition only for a select group of art lovers. However, this might of course be due to the fact that most of the visitors were already familiar with contemporary art and a vast number of them are even connected professionally to the arts.



In the group discussions, Manifesta 11 was also evaluated very positively. It was a place to discover a lot of new art and enter the art world in a rather comprehensive way. For some participants, Manifesta 11 was even too large, in that it was not possible to visit most of the locations and satellites. Some participants of the focus group discussion missed Manifesta's

critical stance (compared to previous Manifesta shows), stating that they expected Manifesta to be more socially critical than they actually found it to be in Zurich.

Figure 4 shows data regarding the evaluation of some more general and practical aspects of Manifesta 11. Most of the evaluated aspects of the Manifesta 11 are positively rated by more than fifty percent of the audience, i.e. Manifesta 11 as a whole, the choice of art works, the premises, the signalisation, and the accessibility of the main venues. Signalisation (especially the design of the figurines) was very much applauded in the focus group discussions. Some participants found the design to be extremely good. However, some participants complained that the signalisation was only visible if one already knew the design.



Overall, this is a very good evaluation of Manifesta 11. The visitors were somewhat more critical regarding the information and the accessibility of the satellites. The latter point was also mentioned in the focus group discussions, some participants complaining that it was quite difficult to visit the satellites because information on opening hours was not readily available. In table 15 we find data regarding a very specific aspect of Manifesta 11, participation in a guided tour. Roughly 14 % of respondents took part in a guided tour. Nearly 95 % of those taking a tour were at least satisfied with it, and more than 40 % found it very good, which is

Tab 15 Evaluation of guided tours

	%
Participation in guided tour	
No	86.24
Yes	13.76
Evaluation of guided tour¹	
Very good	41.88
Good	31.25
Satisfactory	21.25
Not satisfactory	0.63
Did not meet my expectations	5.00

¹ Only those who took a guided tour (N=162).

an overwhelming result. This is also supported by the group discussions, where most of the participants found the guided tours very helpful. Apart from the general guided tours, the hosts in the different satellites were received very positively, because they usually gave a very authentic presentation of the respective site. Additionally, the concept of non-professional “storytellers” was very well received among almost all discussants in the focus groups. Besides the movies shown on the Pavillon of Reflections, storytellers were another excellent medium providing a low-level gateway into contemporary art. Only sporadically was the opinion advanced that storytellers did not contribute much new information about the artworks.

In the focus group discussion there was one point which participants praised more or less unanimously. Of all of the many Manifesta 11 premises it was the Pavillon of Reflection which really stood out. It was called a “stroke of genius” because it was a meeting point, a kind of low-level gateway into contemporary art, and thus – even for the group not so familiar with the arts – an innovative way to introduce people to (contemporary) art. Discussants were undecided in response the question whether it was good or bad that the Pavillon was sometimes simply used to have coffee or a bath without much interest in Manifesta 11 or contemporary art in general.

Not only the location was mentioned but also the movies explaining the creation of the artworks. This was perceived as an opportunity to learn about the works in a more practical way, especially by those discussants that were not so familiar with the arts. As a result, it is visible in the quantitative survey that the profile of visitors at the Pavillon of Reflections was less exclusive than that of the Manifesta 11 audience in general. At the Pavillon, only 64.8 %

of visitors held a university degree, 71.9 % worked in areas with no connection to the art field, and 11.2 % had not been to a contemporary art show before. The latter two figures indicate that the concept of the Pavillon was especially successful in attracting newcomers to contemporary art. Moreover, focus group discussions revealed that the movies provided a lot of detailed and first-hand knowledge about specific occupations. Some participants argued that it is a pity that the movies are not available online, to form a kind of legacy of Manifesta 11.

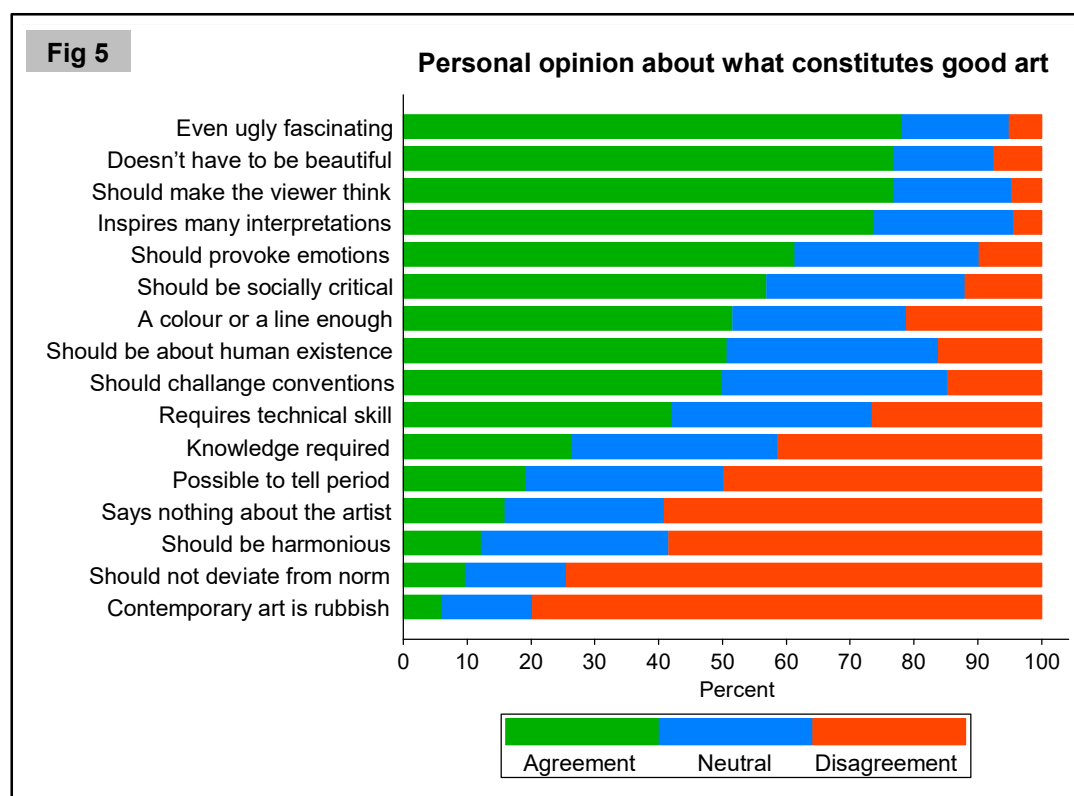
Regarding Manifesta 11's visibility within Zurich, there was some disagreement between the discussants more familiar with art and those less so. The latter group found that Manifesta 11 was extremely visible within Zurich, with all the posters, art detectives, and storytellers. However, it was not very visible outside of the city, especially not in the French-speaking part of Switzerland. In contrast, the participants familiar with art emphasized that the Manifesta 11 was not well received in Zurich. The press was rather arrogant, and the artists and actors in the art field had a negative attitude, thus marginalizing Manifesta 11 to a certain degree. This may have been due to the fact that Swiss and Zurich artists were not well represented at the biennial. Thus, the impact on the established artists in Zurich was considered marginal among art-loving discussants of the focus groups. However, it was emphasized that younger artists and art students may have profited since Manifesta 11 offered a lot of opportunities to come together, discuss, and discover new international art.

5.2.2. Engagement with art

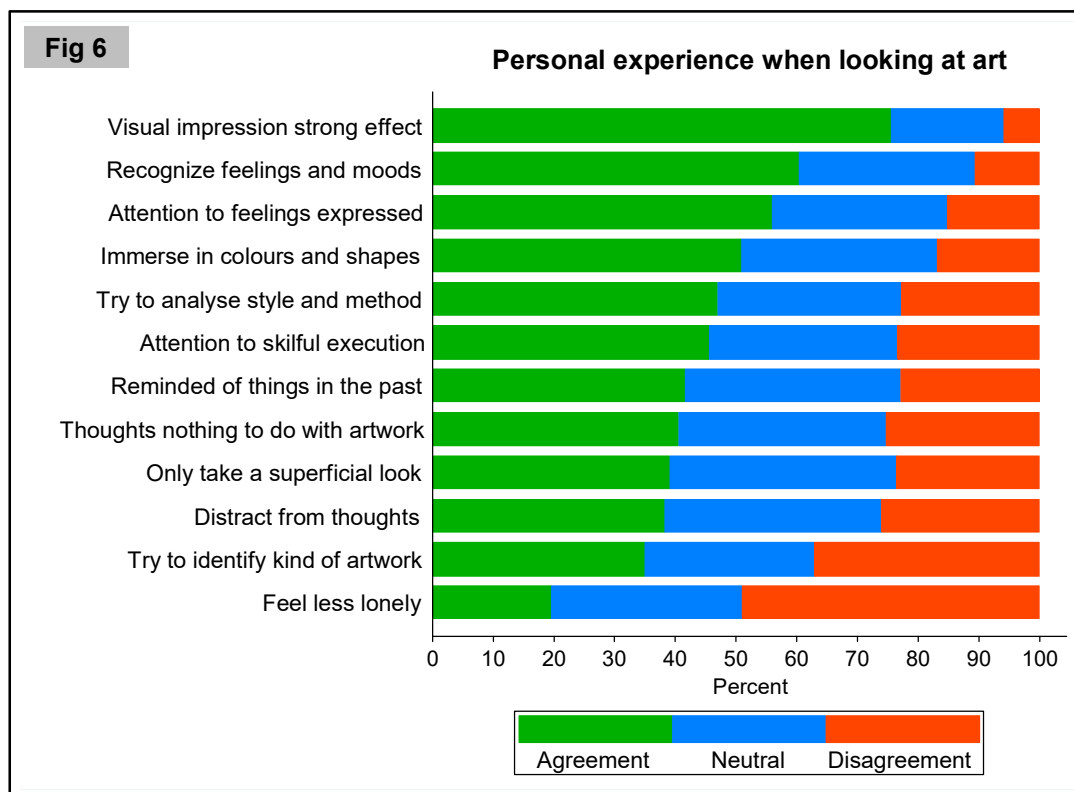
In this section of the report we discuss visitors' personal opinions on art and their experience of it after visiting Manifesta 11, beginning with the personal opinions on what constitutes good art presented in figure 5. The items in this part of the questionnaire are taken from Hanquinet et al. (2014), since they capture aesthetic orientations in a rather comprehensive way. The data in figure 5 clearly underline our previous interpretation of Manifesta 11's audience. The visitors are generally endowed with a great deal of cultural capital and thus have a rather formal, abstract, and open understanding of art; a vast majority supports the idea that art does not have to be beautiful, that it can even be ugly. Furthermore, most of the visitors think that a color or a line is enough to constitute art and strongly reject the notion that contemporary art is mainly "rubbish", that art should follow norms, or should be harmonious. This is in strong contrast to the substantive taste of people with less cultural capital, which usually leads them to prefer art that represents motifs, which are considered as

beautiful in everyday life. Moreover, a large section of the audience also supports the idea that art should make the viewer reflect, be about the human condition, provoke emotions, be socially critical, and challenge conventions. This is in sharp contrast to a perspective assuming art to be based on technical skill and knowledge prevalent among persons with less cultural capital. Thus, these data firmly demonstrate that the Manifesta 11 visitors have a view of art that is based on rich endowment with cultural capital, due to their academic education, and their active engagement with art.

Of course, the converse argument is that Manifesta 11 did not attract those parts of the population which have much less cultural capital and a less formal, abstract, and open understanding of art. Comparison to the results of Hanquinet et al. (2014), which are based on an audience survey in a fine and contemporary arts museum in Belgium, shows a striking similarity, indicating that the aesthetic profile of Manifesta 11 visitors is comparable to the aesthetic profile of other arts museum visitors. However, the Manifesta 11 audience is even somewhat more oriented towards an abstract and formal understanding of art, indicating again that the visitors show a very specific orientation towards art based on their high volume of cultural capital.



In the next step, we focus on how Manifesta 11 visitors experienced the exhibition. The relevant data are depicted in figure 6. The items in this figure are based on previous work in the psychology of art and music (Behne 1986, Rössel 2011). Overall, the results show the great importance attached to analytical ways of looking at art (“analyse style and method”, “skillfull execution”) and, above all, of an emotional engagement with art (“visual impression”, “feelings and moods”, “attention to feelings”). In contrast, more superficial (“superficial look”) approaches and diversionary ways of dealing with art (“things in the past”, “thoughts nothing to do with artworks”, “feel less lonely”) are rather less important. As Rössel (2011) has shown, the analytical and the emotional mode of artistic reception are strongly linked to education and cultural capital. Thus, these results again underline the extraordinarily strong prevalence of visitors rich in cultural capital in the audience of Manifesta 11.



5.2.3. Future

Based on the questionnaire there is not much evidence for Manifesta 11's impact on the future; this evidence can only be provided in the long run. However, we asked the visitors to indicate if they were planning and willing to visit contemporary art exhibitions in the future. Only 3.5 % indicate that they are not willing to go to contemporary art events in the future. Compared to 8.1 % who had never visited a contemporary art exhibition in the past, Manifesta 11 did indeed engage new groups of visitors with contemporary art and inspired a certain interest in it.

Tab 16 Willingness to see a contemporary art exhibition in the future

	%
No	3.54
Maybe	14.41
Yes	82.05

In the focus group discussions, we enquired specifically about intentions to visit the next Manifesta. Even among the art-loving participants, only those with a professional connection to the arts answered yes. They argued that Manifesta is now one of the important international art biennials and thus one has to visit it. Most of the participants with high levels of interest in the arts emphasized that they would visit the next Manifesta, depending on the topic and the location.

5.3. Economic impact

In order to measure the economic impact of Manifesta 11 in Zurich we follow the standard methods of economic impact analysis (Kyrer 1987). Our analysis mainly focuses on the consumer expenses of Manifesta 11's visitors. In the questionnaire of the public survey participants could state their estimated expenses for accommodation, food, local transportation (taxi, bus, etc.), Manifesta tickets, touristic purchases (e.g. souvenirs), and other expenses. However, we only asked those visitors who do not live in the Zurich area, i.e. external visitors. The latter is because of the assumption that local visitors would have spent their money in the region anyway, which is standard when computing an event's direct effects in terms of visitor expenses. In addition to the information generated in the public survey, we

also include information on investments in the local economy induced by Manifesta 11. This information was provided by the Foundation Manifesta 11 Zurich and includes constructing contracts with local entrepreneurs and universities, reimbursements for local volunteers, and salaries for Manifesta 11 personnel. Generally, we are only able to look at direct monetary (tangible) effects (consumer expenses, investments), not at indirect effects caused by the direct effects (increased employment in hotels, restaurants and so on).



External visitors (i.e. those who don't live in the Zurich area) can be subdivided into two groups: those who visited Zurich mainly because of Manifesta 11 and those who visited Zurich mainly for other reasons (e.g. tourism, business) but still went to see Manifesta 11. As can be seen in figure 7, 43.1 % of visitors were local, 23.4 % spent their time in Zurich not specifically because of Manifesta 11, and 33.6 % visited Zurich mainly because of Manifesta 11. The latter group is the majority (56.9 %) of external visitors and most interesting in economic terms because their expenses can be directly traced back to the presence of Manifesta 11. But still, we also take into account the expenses of external visitors motivated by other reasons because Manifesta 11 might have played a certain – though not the primary – role when planning their visit in Zurich (e.g. prolongation of a tourist/business trip in order to see the biennial).

Tab 17**Average (mean) expenses per external visitor (CHF)¹**

	<u>Manifesta 11</u> <u>(33.6%)</u>	<u>Other reasons</u> <u>(23.4%)</u>	<u>All external visit.</u> <u>(56.9%)</u>
Accommodation	219.63	205.43	213.71
Food	179.16	201.35	188.41
Transport (taxi, bus, etc.)	18.40	15.36	17.13
Tickets for Manifesta	22.43	14.98	19.32
Purchases (e.g. souvenirs)	17.79	20.39	18.87
Other expenses	29.62	16.97	24.35
TOTAL	487.02	474.48	481.79

¹ For the whole stay.

In table 17 we proceed to estimate the per capita consumer expenses of both groups of external visitors, those that came specifically to Zurich to visit Manifesta 11 and those that came to Zurich for other reasons but still visited Manifesta 11. The estimates are based on answers in the questionnaire. Combining both groups and looking at all external visitors together (fourth column of table 17), we can conclude that each external Manifesta 11 visitor spent around 210 Swiss francs on accommodation (the average (median) duration of stays in Zurich of all external visitors is 3 days and 2 nights), around 190 Swiss francs on food, 17 Swiss francs on transport, 19 Swiss francs on Manifesta 11 tickets, another 19 Swiss francs on souvenirs, and about 24 Swiss francs for other expenses. This sums up to a total of about 482 Swiss francs per external visitor.

In order to have full representation of all expenses of all Manifesta 11 visitors we also tried to calculate the expenses of local visitors related to their Manifesta 11 visit (table 18). As mentioned above, we did not ask local visitors about their expenses in the questionnaire, so we need to estimate these numbers based on answers of external visitors. We assumed that local visitors have no extra expenses for food and accommodation, but have the same amount of expenses for tickets as external visitors. For the other items in the list we assumed that local visitors spent around 50 % of what external visitors spent. Thus, the figures in table 18 are merely based on informed guesswork and not on the same kind of data as the information on the expenses of external visitors. Our overall estimate is that local visitors spent around 50 Swiss francs related to their Manifesta 11 visit.

Tab 18	Estimated¹ expenses per Zurich visitor (43.1%) (CHF)
Accommodation ²	0.00
Food ²	0.00
Transport (taxi, bus, etc.)	8.57
Tickets for Manifesta	19.32
Purchases (e.g. souvenirs)	9.44
Other expenses	12.17
TOTAL	49.50

¹ Estimated figures on the basis of average expenses of external visitors. Zurich visitors were not asked directly about their expenses in the questionnaire.

² Accommodation and food expenses are set to 0.00 because of the assumption that the visit to Manifesta did not cause any additional costs in these areas for Zurich visitors.

In table 19 we extrapolate the expenses per capita (based on our survey sample) to the full number of visitors of Manifesta 11. It is assumed that the distribution of visitors over the three categories of external and local visitors in figure 7 also holds for all visitors. Thus, according to our calculation, 19,670 visitors came specifically for Manifesta 11, 33,309 visitors were external (including both groups of external visitors) and 25,231 visitors were local. To estimate the absolute expenses of all visitors we simply multiply these numbers of visitors by the per capita expenses in tables 17 and 18. Thus, we arrive at an absolute expense of 9.58 million Swiss francs for external visitors motivated to come to Zurich because of Manifesta 11, 16.05 million Swiss francs for all external visitors, and 1.27 million Swiss francs for local visitors. All visitors to Manifesta 11 spent a total estimated sum of 17.3 million Swiss francs.

Tab 19 Extrapolation of absolute expenses				
		External visitors motivated by M11	All external visitors	Zurich visitors
Overall number of M11 visitors (tickets sold)		58'540	58'540	58'540
Proportion of visitors in each group	(%)	33.6	56.9	43.1
Number of visitors in each group		19,670	33,309	25,231
Estimated absolute expenses per capita	(CHF)	487	482	50
Total estimated absolute expenses	(CHF)	9,579,717	16,047,966	1,270,381
<u>All Manifesta 11 visitors</u>				
Total estimated absolute expenses	(CHF)	17,318,347		

Now, after examining consumer expenses of Manifesta 11 visitors, we take a closer look at other investments in the local economy generated by Manifesta 11. According to Foundation Manifesta 11 Zurich, construction works and other services lead to contracts with local entrepreneurs and universities in the amount of CHF 1,820,000. Besides, reimbursements for volunteers who helped out during the installation and exhibition period sum up to CHF 74,439. Finally, Manifesta 11 spent a total of CHF 1,992,000 on salaries, creating employment and additional investment in the Zurich region, as Manifesta exhibitions are mainly managed and organized by local offices.

Tab 20 Direct return on investment of M11, by source (in CHF)

Consumer expenses of M11 visitors	17,318,347
Constructing contracts with local economy	1,820,000
Reimbursements for local volunteers	74,439
Salaries for Manifesta 11 personnel	1,992,000
TOTAL	21,204,786

Combining all direct monetary effects mentioned (consumer expenses, investments in local economies, salaries) results in the direct return on investment of Manifesta 11. As can be read from table 20, the total of this direct return is CHF 21,204,786. Compared to the budget Manifesta 11 received from the “Verein Manifesta 11 Zurich” (CHF 5,220,000 according to Foundation Manifesta 11 Zurich), a direct economic multiplier of 4.06 can be calculated. Hence, the amount of money that Manifesta 11 injected into the economy of the Zurich region is more than four times higher than the amount that has been invested into its organization. Keep in mind that all these figures do only refer to direct monetary effects and that in-kind investments (CHF 1,400,000) and the estimated press value of CHF 6,283,982 are not included in the previous calculations.

6. Conclusion

Summing up the results of this report, we can state that Manifesta 11 in Zurich was a very successful event. It was not only able to attract a sizable number of newcomers to contemporary art, but also to motivate national and international tourists to visit the city of Zurich. Additionally, the overall evaluation of Manifesta 11, especially as an opportunity to discover new artists, was very positive. Taking up the three questions posed at the beginning of our analysis, we can qualify this overall estimation:

(1) Who visited Manifesta 11 and how did people hear about Manifesta 11?

The majority of Manifesta 11 visitors (55.4 %) were people not professionally connected with the art field; laypersons with an interest in art represent the bulk of the audience. Art professionals in a narrow sense (artists, gallerists, etc.) constitute about one fifth (20.6 %). Compared to other art events, the Manifesta audience was rather young (41 years on average), indicating Manifesta's potential to create and foster a contemporary art audience for the future. This becomes especially visible if we take into account that newcomers to contemporary art (those who have never been to a contemporary art show before, 8.1 %) are clearly younger (33 years on average) than the overall Manifesta 11 audience. In terms of gender, the audience showed a slight overrepresentation of women (51.5 vs. 46.1 %) which is not unusual in these kinds of cultural settings. Moreover, it must be emphasized that 40 % of visitors came from outside Switzerland (especially Germany) and that 18 % came from Switzerland but not the canton of Zurich. This finding underlines not only the international character of Manifesta 11 but also its potential as a source of additional economic income for the Zurich region (see point 3 below).

However, Manifesta 11's audience was less diverse in terms of education and cultural capital. Almost 70 % of visitors held a university degree, which is high relative to both the general Swiss population and other art events. Those holding a university degree in arts or cultural studies even represent the largest group of educational degrees overall (26.5 %). This is in line with a considerable proportion of visitors being professionally connected to the art field and 45.5 % being contemporary art regulars (visiting a contemporary art museum at least once a month).

The most important marketing strategy by which Manifesta 11 visitors were reached is personal communication (30.4 %). Even though the percentage of young people is relatively high among the audience, traditional media like newspapers or TV were the second most important source of information about Manifesta 11 (24.3 %), whereas new, internet-based

media were used by 18 % of the audience. Interestingly, the city of Zurich as a tourist destination was the least important reason to visit Manifesta (33.7 %), whereas a general interest in art was the most important motivation (81 %). Hence, Manifesta 11 was able to bring people to Zurich beyond the city's attractiveness as a touristic hot spot. Additionally, 57 % of visitors did not know Manifesta before it came to Zurich. Thus, its eleventh edition considerably contributed to making Manifesta more familiar among a wider public, both internationally and in Switzerland.

(2) What is the cultural impact of Manifesta 11?

As a result of the high educational level of the Manifesta 11 audience, the opinions about art were quite homogeneous. Most visitors agreed that good art does not necessarily have to be beautiful in a traditional sense (76.8 %) and disagreed with the notion that "contemporary art is rubbish" (79.8 %). This is a strong indicator of both a negative attitude towards a substantive cultural taste and a positive attitude towards a formal taste representing high levels of cultural capital (in Pierre Bourdieu's terms) among Manifesta 11 visitors. At the same time, most visitors (75.6 %) stress the strong (emotional) effect that artworks have on them, indicating an intense personal engagement with art. Furthermore, large proportions of the audience appreciate both elaborate types of music (classical, opera, jazz) and more contemporary forms like electronic music or hip hop, while at the same time disliking traditional folk music. Combining all these findings leads to the conclusion that the majority of Manifesta 11's audience engages with art in an open-minded manner, adopting diverse tastes. This openness is limited, however, as traditional notions of beauty are depreciated and formal (abstract) understandings of art are largely favored. Consequently, traditional cultural tastes were hardly represented among Manifesta 11's audience. Still, only 3.5 % of visitors stated that they were not willing to see another contemporary art show after their visit to Manifesta 11. Thus, Manifesta 11 can be said to have met the demands of the contemporary art audience.

(3) What is the economic impact of Manifesta 11?

Finally, Manifesta 11 was successful in attracting external visitors to the Zurich region and thus generating additional income for the region. 33.6 % of all visitors stated that they came to Zurich only because of Manifesta 11 – this is the majority of all external visitors (56.9 %). Each external visitor spent on average CHF 482 during her stay in Zurich (including accommodation, food, transport, tickets, and other purchases), which amounts to total

expenses for all external visitors of CHF 16,047,966 (the total for those who came to Zurich only because of Manifesta 11 is CHF 9,579,717). The total expenses of all Manifesta 11 visitors (including local visitors) amounts to CHF 17,318,347. Additionally, Manifesta 11 invested in local economies (contracts with local entrepreneurs and universities, reimbursements, salaries) a total amount of CHF 3,886,439, leading to an overall direct return on investment of CHF 21,204,786. Compared to the budget Manifesta 11 received from the “Verein Manifesta 11 Zurich”, the economic multiplier of this return on investment is 4.06.

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Appendix

Tab A1 List of all professions stated in the survey (N=764)
(original wording)

[illegible]

Architekt
Architekt
Architekt
Architekt - Manager
Architekt / Projekten
Architekt and teacher
Architekt/Planer
Architektin
Architektin
Architektin
Architektin
Architektur
Architektur
Architektur u Design Stadt Zurich
Architetto
Archivar
Archivarin
Art
Art
Art
Art + Real Estate Projekts + tech startups
art advisor
Art and Brand Installations Lead
Art consultant, intermediary
Art Contemporary Centre director
art critic
Art curator
Art Director
Art Director
Art directorin
Art Expert
Art historian--faculty in a master's program
Art interviews
Art Teacher, designer
Art technician
Art tour operator; art advisor; landlord
Artist
Artist
Artist
Artist
Artist
artist
Artist
Artist - Visual art
Artist , arthistorian
Artist activist Street political tragedy comedian
Artist and Photographer

Artist assistant
Artist musician
Artist, and Artistic Director for a gallery and for independent events
Artist, teaching
artist. Dance / theatre / performance / visual arts
Arts Administration and Fund Raising
arts manager
Arzt
Arzt
Ärztin
Ärztin
Ärztin
Ärztin für diagnostische Radiologie
Asset management
Assistant curator
Assistant Curator
Assistant professor
Assistent uzh
Assistentin der geschäftsleitung
Assistentin des Vereinsvorstandes Tiroler Landesmuseum
Assistentin einer Künstlerin und künstlerin
Assistenz der Direktion
Assistenzärztin Innere Medizin
Assistenzkuratorin
Augenoptiker
Augenoptikerin
Ausbildner
Ausstellungsorganisation
Ausstellungsautor, Publizist, Dozent
Autonomer Formgeber
Autor
Autor
Autorin/Malerin/Journalistin zu gleichen Teilen
Bäcker/Konditor
Bademeisterin,Musikerin
Badimeister
Baecker konditorin
Bank
Bankenboss (Schweiz)
Banker
Bankjurist
Bauherrenberatung
Beauftragter Öffentlichkeitsarbeit
Berater Digitalisierung Finanzwirtschaft
Beraterin
Berufsschullehrer Allgemeinbildung
Berufsschullehrer für Naturwissenschaften

Berufsschullehrerin
Berufsschullehrerin englisch
Berufsschullehrperson
Berufsvermittlung zeitgen. Kunst
Betreuende Asylsuchende / Humanitäre Hilfe
Betreuerin
Betreuung
Betriebsleiter
Bibliothekarin
Bibliothekarin
Bildhauer
Bildhauerin
Bildungsplanung
Blumenbinderin
Breath in and out.
Buchhandel
Business owner
Chefsekräterin Arzt
Chefsekretärin Medizin
Cinematographer
Civil servant
Civil service
clinical psychologist
Commercial employee
Communication / design
Communication Manager and independent Art Curator
communication, pr & social media for the art world
Computer Ingenieur
Communication and marketing for non Profit, Fund raising
Consultant
Consultant
Consultant
Consultant
Consultant
Consultant
Consultant in porn industry
Consulting
Cook
Coordinate cultural program
Coordination in humanitären organisation
Coordinator
Creating cultural Art-events
Creative Director
CTO
Curator
Curator
Curator

Curator
Curator
Curator
Curator
curator
Curator
curator and art advisor
Curator of contemporary art
Curator of Contemporary Art
curator, musician, assistant professor
Curator, writer, lecturer
Curatorial work
DaZ-Lehrerin
DEALER
Dean faculty university
Delegierter des IKRK
Dentist
Design
Design shoes
Designer
Designer
Designer
Designer
Designer Räume und Mobiliar
Deutschlehrer
Development and Programme Manager at an arts philanthropic organisation
Dipl.Ing.
Diplomat
Diplomat
Director
Director
director art organization, curator and writer
Director Corporate Development
Director of a Consulting firm in retail
Director of a medial department
Director of a training center
Director of Art Contemporary center
Directör, Art Gallery
Direktionsassistentin
Dozent Chemie an einer FH
Dozent f. Literatur
Dozent für ko Moskitonetz bfh
Dozent Informatik
Dozentin Hochschule
Dozentin Soziale Arbeit
Economic Consultant
Editor and Educational Specialist

Education coordinator
Education Project Manager
Einkäuferin
Einkaufsassistentin Kinder Bekleidung/Accessoires
Einzelhandel
eLearning Spezialist
Electronics
Elektro
Employer
Energie
Engineering
Engineering
Entrepreneur
Entwickler
Erwachsenenbildung und kommunalpolitik
Erziehungswissenschaftlerin und Abteilungsleitung an PH
Estate owner
Exhibitions Assistant for Contemporary commercial Gallery
F&B Manager
FaBe
Fachlehrerin
Fachmann Gesundheit
Fachpersonal Betreuung gruppenleitung
Facilitatormanagement
Familienbegleiterin
Filialleiter UBS
Filmausstatterin
Filmemacher
Filmmaker
Finance
Finance Manager / Team leader Finance Controlling
Finanzchef
Flugzeugabfertigung
Flight Attendant
Flight Attendant/Golfsekretärin
fluglotse
Food & Beverage
Fotograf
Fotograf
Fotograf
Fotografie
Fotografin
Fotografin
Fotoredaktorin
Fragrances - Supplik Chan
Freelance architect
Freelancer bei einer Galerie

Freiberufliche Künstlerin
Freier Dramaturg
Freischaffender Künstler, Bildhauer
Frisör
Fundraising
Fundraising Museum zeitgenössische Kunst
Grafiker
Galerist
Galeristin
Galeristin und bildungsarbeit kulturmediation
Galerieassistentin + kommunikationsassistentin
Gallery assistant
Gallery Assistant
Gallery owner
Gardener
Gartenleiterin
Gärtner
Gemeindearchivarin
General Manager
Gerichtsschreiber
Geschäftsführer
Geschäftsführer
Geschäftsführerin eines online Plattform
Geschäftsführerin kulturvermittlung, Kuratorin, Unternehmensberaterin Nachhaltigkeit
Geschäftsleitungsmitglied gesundheitsschule.ch
Geschichtlehre
Gestalter
Global Art Curator
Global Head of product engineering
Good question
Gott
Grafik
Grafik design
Grafik Designer
Grafik Designerin
Grafiker
Grafikerin
Grafikerin
Graphic design
Graphic Design
Graphic Designer
Graphic designer
Graphic designer
Graphit Designer
Graphit Designer, illustrator
Gruppenleitern Sachbearbeitung Sozialamt
Hausärztin

Hausdienst
Haushaltshilfe
Hautarzt
Head of international school
Headhunting / Recruitment Financial Professionals
Hebamme
Heilpädagoge
Heilpädagogik
Heilpädagogin
Heizungssanitär
Hochbauzeichner
Hochbauzeichnerin
Hochbauzeichnerunter
Hochschuldozent
Hochschullehrer
Hochschulrektor
Hortleiterin
Hotelier
Human Ressource Praktikum
Hydrogeologe
Hypothekarberaterin
Illustration designer
Illustrator
Immobilien
Independent Curator
Industrielackierer
IndustrielackiererIn
IndustrielackiererIn
Informatik
Informatik
Informatiker
Informatiker
Informatiker
Informationsdienstleister
Informationsspezialist
Ingenieur
Ingenieur
Innenarchitekt
Insegnante
Installation Manager
Insure People
Integrier designer
It
It
Italienischlehrerin
jkjklklöj
Journalist

Journalist
Journalist
Journalist
Journalistin
Journalistin
Jurist
Jurist
Juristin
Juristin
Juristischer Mitarbeiter
Kauffrau
Kaufm. Ang.
kaufm. Sachbearbeiter
Kaufmann
Kein Geld ausgeben
Kfm. Angestellte
Kindergärtnerin
Kindergärtnerin
Kinotechniker
Klassenassistentin
Klassenlehrer
Koch
Kommissionssekretärin
Kommunikationsbeauftragte
Kommunikationsberater
Konzepten/illustrator
Konzeptionentwicklung /Soziale Arbeit
Koordinator Lehrmittel
Körpertherapeutin
Kuenstler
Kulturbeauftragte
Kulturberatung
Kulturjournalist
Kunst- und deutschlehrer
Kunst und werklehrerin und freischaffende künstlerin
Kunsthistoriker / Kurator
Kunsthistorikerin
Kunsthistorikerin
Kunsthistorikerin - Leiterin eines Ausstellungsraumes
Kunstlehrerin
Künstler
künstler
Künstler, Lehrer, Forscher
Künstler, Regisseur
Künstler/Museumsmitarbeiter
Künstlerin
Künstlerin

Künstlerin
Künstlerin
Künstlerin
Künstlerin, kunstvermittlerin
Künstlerin/Kunstvermittlerin
Künstlerische Leitung eines Theaterfestivals
Kunstschaffender Professor für Bildhauerei
Kunsttherapie
Kunstvermittlerin
Kunstvermittlerin
Kunstvermittlerin
Kunstvermittlerin am Museum
Kunstvermittlerin gymnasium
Kurator
Kurator
Kuratorin
Kuratorin
Kuratorin
Kuratorin
Kuratorin zeitgen Kunst
Kuratorin, Kunstpublizistin, Kunsthistorikerin
Kv
KV
Landscapearchitect
Lateinlehrerin
Lawyer
Lawyer
Lawyer
Lawyer
Layer
Lecturer
Lecturer at university
Legal Office executive
Lehre, kunst
Lehrer
Lehrer
Lehrer
Lehrer Berufsschulen u. Mittelschulen
Lehrer Bildhauer
Lehrerim
Lehrerin
Lehrerin
Lehrerin
Lehrerin
Lehrerin für Deutsch als Zweitsprache
Leiter einer Kunsthalle

Leiterin Schulsekretariat
Leitung Aus-/Weiterbildung
Lektor, Künstler, Geschäftsführer
Lerncoach
Librarian
Liegenschaftenverwaltung
Literaturagent
Logistik
Logistik-Leiter
Mädchen für alles
Management Consultant
Manager
Manager
Manager
Marketing
Marketing
Marketing & Kommunikation
Marketing Asset Management
Marketing Grafik
Marketingfachmann
Marketingleiter
Med. Laborantin
Med.Laborantin
Medien-Dokumentalistin
Mitarbeiterin im Büro
Mitarbeiterin Kommunikationsabteilung
Mittelschulehrerin
Mittelschullehrerin
Modellbauer
Motion Designer / 3D Artist
Mpa
Museum Arts programmer
Museum Curator
Museum curator for contemporary art
Museum Mitarbeiter
museumadvisor and fundraiser
Musician, German Tutor
Musiker
Musiker und Komponist
Musikerin
Musiklehrer
MusikLehrer und Zeichner
Musiklehrerin
Nachhaltige Finanzierung
Naturpädagogin Leitung Freizeitbereich Basisstufe Waldschule
Neurologe
Neurologin

Nichts
Nothing
Nothing
Office Managerin ETH
Offizier
Ökonom
Oncologist
Organise exhibitions
Organizational Psychologie
Pedagogical anvisier
pensioniert
Pensionskassenverwallter
PEOPLE PLEASER
Performance curator
Performer
Personal Assistant to General Manager
Pflegeassistentin
Pflegeexpertin
Pflegefachfrau
Pflegefachkraft sucht u. Abhängigkeitsmedizin
Pharma- assistentin
Pharmacist
Pharmaindustrie
PhD Anthropologie
Physician
Play videogames
Polydesigner 3D
Polymech
Portfolio-Manager von Immobilien
PR
PR
Pr manager
Praktikantin Lifestylmagazin
Press and Publications Manager in artist studio
Primarlehrerin
Primarlehrerin
Primarlehrerin
Primarlehrperson
Primarschullehrerin
Private advisor, curator, educator, author
Product designer
Produktionsleiter für Internationales Theaterfestival
prof
Professor
Professor
Professor
Professor

Professor
Professor eth
Professor FH. Politikwissenschaft
Professor of art
professor of art theory
Professor Universität
Programmieren
Programmverantwortliche
Project manageR
Project managerin
Projekt- und Abteilungsleiter bei einer Airline
Projektassistent
Projektleiter
Projektleiter
Projektleiter
Projektleiter
Projektleiter
Projektleiterin
Projektleiterin
Projektleiterin
Projektmanagement Kunst
Projektmanager
Psychiatrist
Psychoanalytikerin
Psychologe
Psychologisr
Psychologist
Psychotherapeut
Psychotherapeut
Psychotherapeutin
Psychotherapeutin
Psychotherapist
Psychotherapist
Public Mediation and curatorial practice in Contemporary art
public relations and fundraising
Public sector consultant
Public sector consulting
Publizistin
Qualitätsmanagementbeauftragte
Quartierarbeiterin, soziokulturelle animatorin
RA
Raumplaner
Rechnungswesen-Controller
Rechtsanwalt
Rechtsanwältin
Rechtspflege
Redaktor

Redaktor
Referentin und erwachsenenbildnerin
Regisseur
Reiseleiterin
Reisezugbegleiter
Rektor
Rektor einer Berufsschule
Rektor einer kantonalen Berufsfachschule, lic. phil. I
Rentner
Requisiteurin und Künstlerin
Research
Research Assistant Professor of ecology
Richter
Richter
Sachbearbeiterin
Sachbearbeiterin Kreditorbuchhaltung
Sales secretary
Schauspieler
Schauspieler
Schauspielerin
Schulbegleiterin eines autisten
Schulbereich, Werklehrer
Schulische heilpädagogin
Schulleiter Gymnasium
Schulleiterin
scientific researcher
Scientist
Secretary
Secretary
Securities Analyst
Segment Manager
Sekräterin
Sekräterin
Sekundarlehrer
Sekundarlehrerin mit Klassenlehrerfunktion
selbständiger Detailhändler im Mode-/Designbereich
Selbstständige Kulturjournalistin
Senior Lecturer in Art and Design
Senior medial information
Shop assistant in a jewelry shop
SHP
Sicherheitsbeauftragter
Sicherheitsmitarbeiter
Social
Social worker
Software
Software developer

Software development
Software Ing
Softwareentwickler
Software-Ingenieur
Soz päd
Sozialarbeiter
Sozialarbeiter
Sozialarbeiter
Sozialarbeiter
Sozialarbeiter
Soziale Arbeit
Sozialpädagogin
Sozialpaedagogin
Soziokulturelle animatorin
Soziologin, Dozentin
Spielfilmregisseurin
Sprachlehrerin Erwachsene
sStadtplaner
Staatsanwältin
Stadtbaumeister
Städtebauer
Stadtplaner / Raumplaner
Stadtplanerin
Stellvertretender shopmanager
Steuersekretär
Studienrätin
Stv chefredaktor
Stv Direktorin Bundesamt
stv. Leiter Informatik Zentralbank
Survey execution
Teach, therapiert, Writer (all als Artist)
Teacher
Teacher
Teacher
Teacher
Teacher
Teacher
Teacher
Teacher
Teacher
Teacher
Teacher
Teacher
Teacher of mathematica
Team Lead, EU Art Listings Website.
Teamleiter Qualifizierung und Validierung
Technische Projektleitung

Technische Projektleitung, Ingenieur
Technischer Verkaufberater
Textilhandel inneneinrichtung
Transmedia Artist
Um designer
Umweltingenieur
Underwriter
Uni Prof an der kundtuend Linz
Universitätsassistent Senior Artist
University Golf Coach
University lecturer
University lecturer
university lecturer
University lecturer in history of design
University professor
university professor
University Professor psychology
University researcher
University researcher and teacher
Unternehmensberater
Unternehmensberater
Unternehmensberater
Unternehmensberaterin
Unternehmer Bereich Immobilien+Beteiligungen
Verbandsmanager
Verkauf
Verkauf
Verkauf
Verkäufer
Verkäuferin
Verkäuferin
Verlagsgeschäftsführer
Vermittlung von Immobilien
Versicherungsmathematiker
Versicherungsfachfrau
Verwaltungsangestellter
Verwaltungsassistentin
Verwaltungsrat
Video Content Editor
Videoproducer und Fotograf
Visual designer
Visual Manager
Visuelle Gestaltung
Wagenführer
Weather insurance for Afrikan governments
Wirtschaftsinformatik
Wirtschaftsinformatiker

Wissenschaftler
Wissenschaftler
Wissenschaftliche Assistentin
Wissenschaftliche mitarbeiterin
Wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiterin
Wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiterin in NGO
Wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiterin Museum
Wissenschaftliche Referentin
Wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter
Wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter, Forschung
Wizard
Work my f***ng ass off
Worker
Writer
Writer, academic
Zahnärztin
zahnärztin
Zahnarzt
